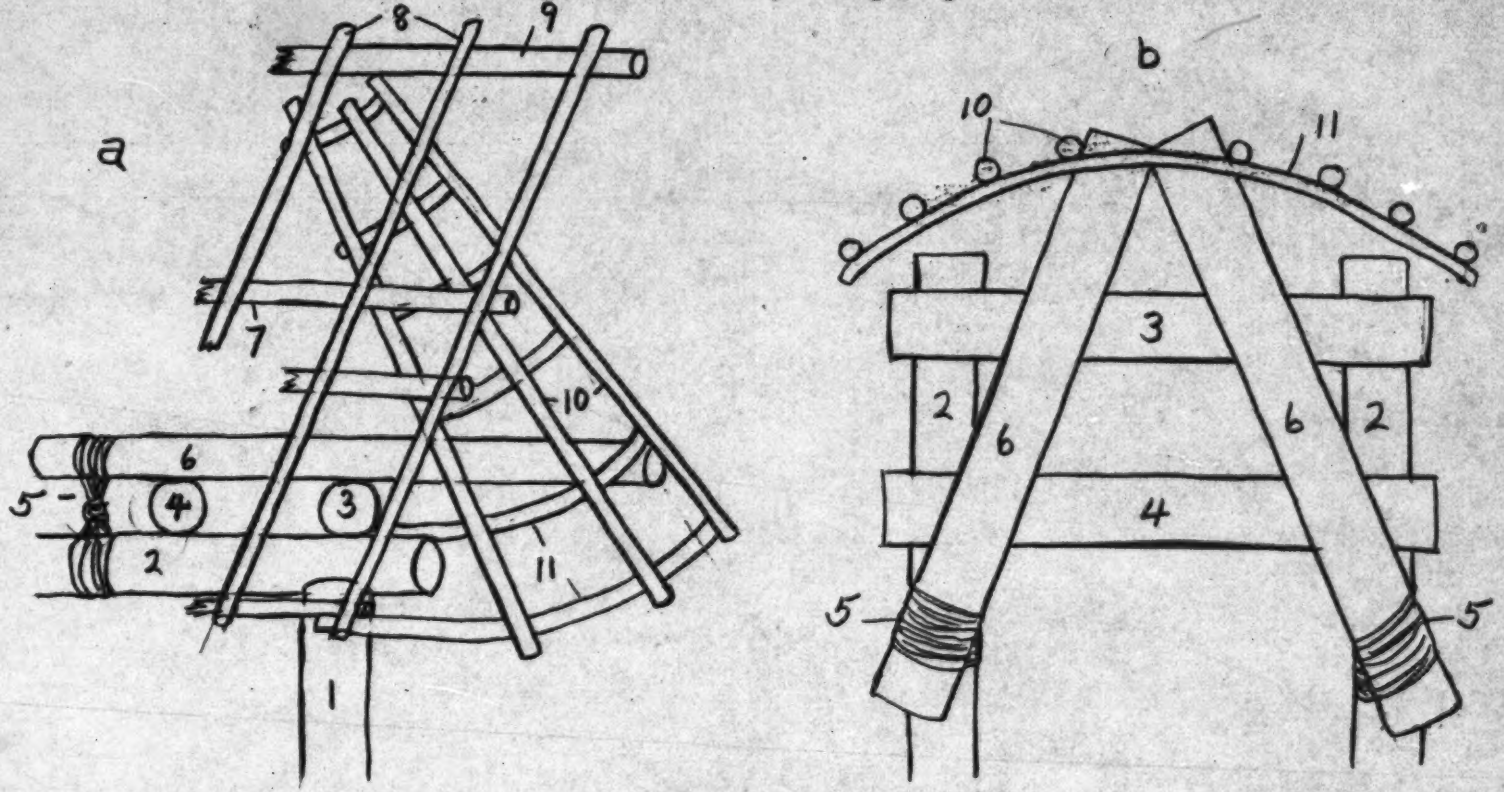
1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 285, 335 Ifalik

"Cook-sheds and canoe houses have no walls, but dwellings are almost completely walled in by panels of coconut leaf, plaited in twill. These can be unfastened and slid aside, making a door wherever one is wanted. They are called gili. The same name is used for the smaller of two sizes of sitting mat made to spread on the coral gravel of the floors. These gili are plaited from two halves of a leaf in the same way as thatch sheets. But the leaf is cured, the leaflets doubled before plaiting, and the plaiting carried nearly to their tips, then finished off in a braid. A wider floor-mat, called topoxau, is made more like a ridge sheet; but the two split halves are laid with their bits of midrib in the middle, and the two sides are finished with braids.

The most ingenious feature of construction, particularly in canoe-houses, is the rounded gable. A ridged roof, thatched only on two sides, is not enough to provide shelter in a wet country. Something must be done to keep rain from entering at the ends, when the wind blows in. The solution traditional in Ifalik is, first, to extend the ridge-pole at both ends, and slant the end rafters out to the ends of the ridge-pole, so that the peak of the roof overhangs; second, to build rounded extensions under the peak at both ends. These, covered with thatch, give the ends of the building as good protection from rain as the long sides. (Pl. 2a; Fig. 5)"

Fig. 5. -See adjoining page



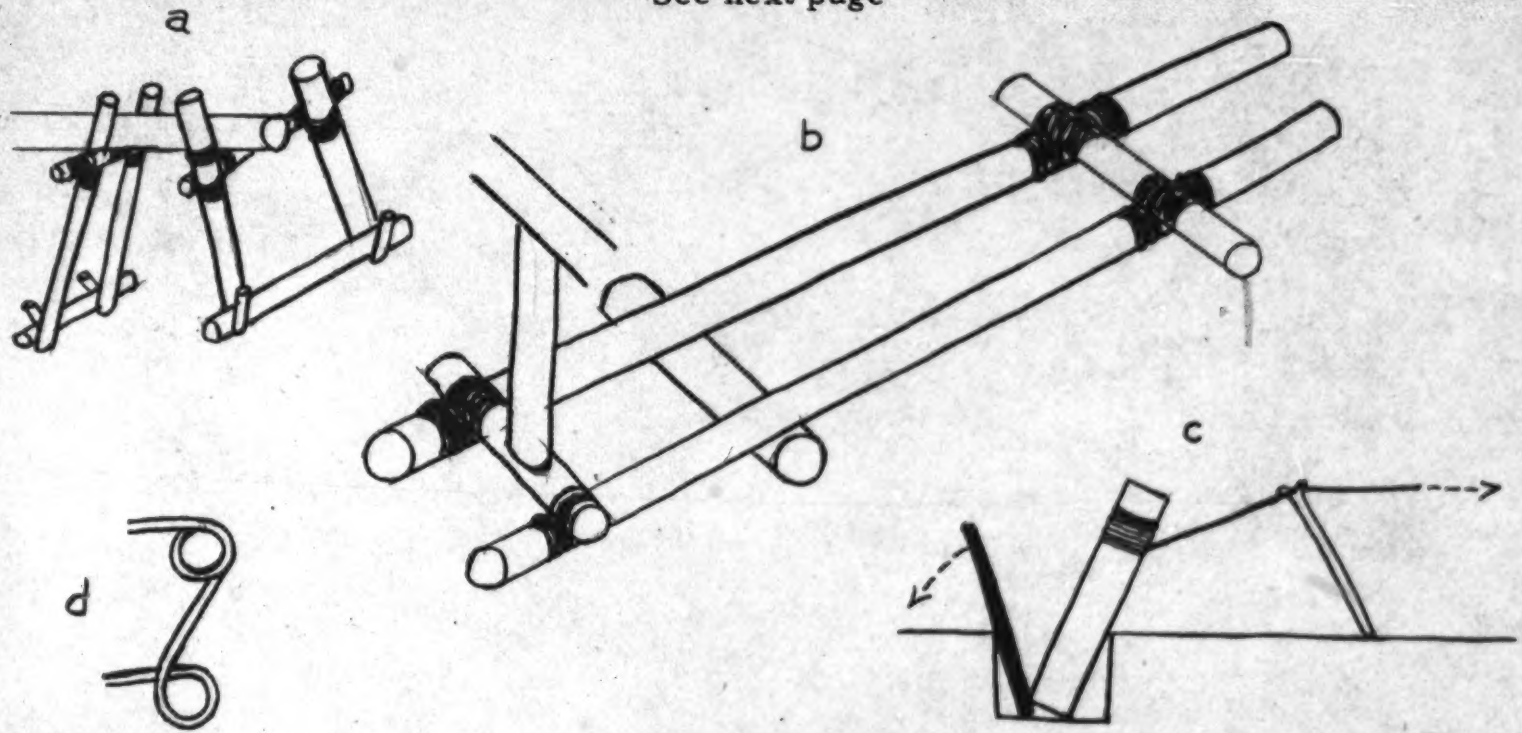
"Fig. 5. -How the projecting gable end of a canoe-house is supported without obstructing the space below, where canoes are hauled in and out.

a, side elevation. b. plan. 1, corner post; 2, stringer;
3, end tie-beam; 4, tie-beam (auten ni lalo); 5, lashing;
6, gable support (tibweli); 7, purlins; 8, rafters;
9, ridge pole; 10, gable rafters; 11, curved gable purlins."

1: Burrows--47-C (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 343, 504 Ifalik

"Fig. 7. -Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house."

See next page



1: Burrows--47-C (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 343, 504

"Fig. 7. -Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house.

a, temporary supports of the stringer. (The rest of the roof, supported by the stringer, is not shown).
b, double lever for raising the roof.
c, removing the old corner post by means of hauling line and levers.
d, hauling line snubbed around two trees."

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 335, 401, 284 Ifalik

"In a canoe-house, however, the ends can not be obstructed with posts, for that would prevent carrying canoes in and out. The manner in thich [sic] the rounded gable is suspended, without supporting posts, is shown in Figure 5. In the first place, the whole structure is lightly built. The eave purlins are not squared beams, but light, flexible withes. Purlins and rafters of the rounded end are lashed to purlins and rafters of the long sides, which take up some of the weight. The rest is supported on two beams (numbered 6 in the figure). Their projecting ends converge under one of the purlins of the rounded extension. Their inner portions rest on tie beams, and the inner ends are fastened by a lashing of stout rope to the stringers below them. This lashing is not very massive, and apparently carries no great weight. It will be seen that both the extension of the peak of the roof, and the suspension of the gable on overhanging beams, involve application, though not in a very bold form, of the principle of the cantilever."

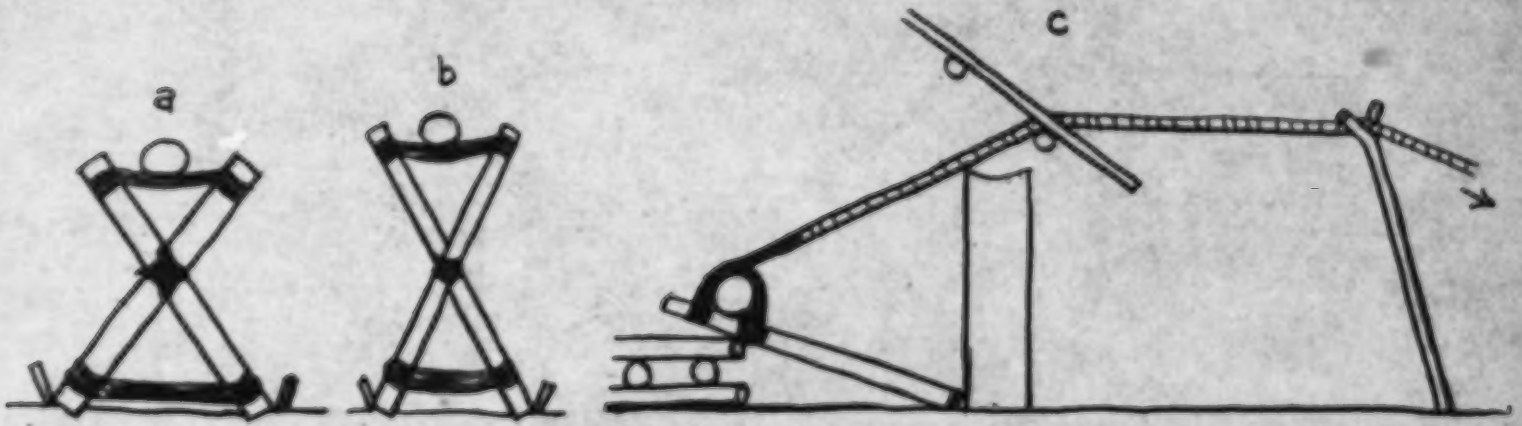
1: Burrows--51-A
116, 343, 504

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Fig. 8. -Techniques used in replacing stringer of a canoe-house.

a, X-support, of light logs, sennit lashing, and pegs.
b, X-support narrowed to gain height as roof is lifted.
c, method of lifting stringer into position on top of corner post."



1: Burrows--106
116, 423, 343

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1.2
Ifalik

"Canoe-houses are in effect public property, or at least property of the men of the neighborhood, most of the time. Yet nominally each one belongs to one or two individuals, and occasionally one is used as private property. They shelter all the sailing canoes and larger paddling canoes whose owners live nearby, and some of the little single-seat rosemāni. (The rest of the rosemāni are either left on the beach or kept in little sheds, erected usually on the shoreward end of the owner's homestead land.) Canoe-houses are also used as club-houses by the men and boys (especially taremwanni, older boys) of the neighborhood, who spend there most of their daytime leisure--and they have plenty of it. They are used, too, for the men's lighter work, not only rope-making, but the making of nets and traps; and as carpenter shops for building canoes. Finally, they are guest-houses for visitors from other islands, who sleep there and are fed by presents from chiefs or relatives.

The canoe-houses from north to south, with their owners as given by Tom, are as follows:

1. Pa'ugop -Totogoeiti (Tom) and Arovalimen
2. Gajuteling -Ilegemwār
3. Fan ni wā -Totogoeiti
4. Sabwōlap -Gabwileisei
5. Fale Pēngā -Fagaulīr
6. Katēlū -north side, Maroligar and Totogoeiti

south side, Toromānn

7. Fan ni Wong -WolpaitIk
8. Pa'auēl -Wolpetau
9. Gavilea -WolpaitIk and Wolpetau

In this list Tom allotted to himself, under his native name Totogoeiti, ownership of two and a quarter canoe-houses, while his nearest rivals, the chiefs Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, have only one and one-half each. This may reflect his insatiable thirst for glory. Particularly suspect is his claim to a share with Maroligar in the north side of the canoe house at Katēlū. This is next to the men's house, shares the same name and, in lesser degree, the same chiefly eminence. It was used by the chiefs during our stay for meeting among themselves, though not for public assemblies. Tom is of the same lineage as Maroligar, and claims to be heir-apparent to his chieftainship; a rather tenuous claim, as he is older than Maroligar, though his junior genealogically. By an unfortunate oversight, I failed to check this list by getting one from somebody else. However, there is no reason to question the pattern of nominal ownership by one or two men."

"Through most of our stay, Tom was using one of the canoe-houses he called his own, Fan ni wā, as a workshop for building his sailing canoe. For a time his son used the other, Pa'ugop, for building a small canoe. Other canoes were sheltered in both houses at the same time, but only on the busiest working days did the work interfere with the usual neighborhood meetings. [107]

We saw only one other instance of private use of a canoe-house. For a time the seaward side of one of them, Fale Pëngā, was temporarily walled in, and the family of the owner slept there. This was not during the last part of the west-wind season, a time of heavy rain, occasional strong wind, and constant danger of hurricane, when a man might well want the more substantial shelter of the canoe-house. It was during the trade-wind season, when there was no need for better than ordinary shelter. If the trouble had been a leaky roof, it could have been rethatched in half a day. That was not done during the brief residence of the owner in the canoe-house. To the question 'Why?', the answer was simply that he and his family thought they would like to sleep there for a while. After a week or so they moved out again. This instance shows that the claim to ownership is more than nominal. But it is rarely exercised. Ordinarily the only requirements for constant use of a canoe-house are residence in the neighborhood, and masculinity. Women hardly ever enter a canoe-house: rarely even pass in front of one. (We were told one story--submitted as true, but remembered because it was considered funny--of illegal sexual relationships between an Ifalik man and a Mogmog woman, on a platform

over the tie-beams of a canoe-house in Mogmog. But this account of behavior abroad--behavior as improper as it would be with us--is hardly an exception to the rule that Ifalik women keep out of canoe-houses.)"

"The two southernmost canoe-houses on Falārik island, Fan ni Wong and Pa'ugop, were not in daily use for light work and loafing, like all the others. Pa'ugop, on the channel between the two islands, was indeed busy and populous on special occasions, as when the population of Falārik island was crossing to Falālap for a religious ceremony. At least twice during our stay feasts were held beside this house; once to celebrate the conclusion of a thatching job, once--as I recall it--to partake of an especially good haul of fish which Rauau and Falālap men both had a hand in catching. But on ordinary days it was deserted, or nearly so. More frequently occupied was a small building beside it which served as a workshop, especially for the women of the nearest household, that of chief Toromānn. The next canoe-house to the north, Fan ni Wong, was still less used. Most of the time there was no-one in it, and I never saw more than one or two there except when the men of the adjacent household, Uelepī, gathered there for some common task.

These two canoe-houses adjoined, on opposite sides, the homestead Uelepī, which as the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of the clan Kovalū was the highest-ranking dwelling site on the atoll, and was tabu to outsiders. The butchering of turtle, reserved to Kovalū, was done in a little grove between Uelepī and Fan ni Wong, but nearer to the canoe-house than the dwellings. The question arises whether the aura of rank and sanctity from Uelepī extended to the two canoe-houses, and made men feel less free to use them. This is possible; but in telling us of the tabu on Uelepī, Tom

said nothing of its extending to the canoe-houses. The nominal 'owner' of Fan ni Wong was WolpaitIk, a chief but not of Kovalū clan. (He lived at Uelepī by virtue of marriage to a Kovalū woman.) The owner of Pa'ugop was Wolpetau, highest ranking chief, of Kovalū clan and Uelepī lineage. But this site, though not the canoe-house itself, was most frequented by the household of the lesser chief Toromānn, of Rapevelū clan. On the whole, it seems most likely that the reason for these canoe-houses being less frequented than the others was simply that there were few dwellings nearby. In addition, Fan ni Wong was off the main road; and, because currents had been building a sandy point to seaward of it, was farther from water than any other canoe-house."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 562, 343, 784 Ifalik

"Associated with this, to some extent, is one permanent taboo. Women must never enter canoe-houses. They even avoid those sections of the main path along the shore which pass immediately in front of canoe-houses. Along most of the settled part of Rauau there is an alternate path farther inland, among the house platforms. Women going from Falārlk district to Falālap, for example, will leave the main path as it approaches the canoe-house Fan ni Wā, and follow the inland path all the way to the channel. The foreshore is not forbidden to them, however, except for narrow strips directly shoreward from the canoe-houses. Even these are not so strictly taboo as the houses themselves. But if a woman crosses them, she will usually go along the beach, or at least not immediately in front of the canoe-house. Sometimes, as during the nightly rehearsals for the men's dances, women will sit very near the canoe-houses, nearly under their eaves."

2: Damm et al. --58 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 343 Ifaluk

malúm is the cook house. Each dwelling house or each family group has a cook house. When the natives were asked why special kitchens are used, they replied that: "the large house is used for sleeping and working (weaving etc.)." The real reason is probably because the preparation and cooking of dishes require light and space.

2: Damm et al. --59-60 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 343 Ifaluk

imelibélu is the lodge for pregnant and menstruating women. Since the last typhoon they have ceased to exist. The women stay in a little house, for there are still many of them adjoining the dwellings. [60]
imosílo is the pig sty. These stalls are only known by name.
There is no chicken coop (imelimáluk) for the animals run all around.

malûm: cookhouse; it is open on all sides, and the small gable roof rests on four poles.

fanda: canoe-house; it is open on all sides; the poles support a heavy roof. The canoe-houses are the abode of the men, for there are no real men's houses. They also sleep here very frequently, when they do not want to be with their wives. However, there were also two little houses on poles on the lagoon side; these also served as sleeping huts, and they were set on poles as a protection against the mosquitoes.

imêribel: menstrual hut, where the women stay during menstruation. The place where the hut stands is called bâl. A tabu forbids the ship Captains to approach the place, or to enter the house; apparently this does not apply to the other men.

Chief's house. These houses are conspicuous on account of the stone foundation, which was solid, frequently two meters high, and arranged in such a way that you could climb it just like a flight of stairs; it generally has a hexagonal plan like the house, but there are also four-sided and lower platforms. The most southern of the three chief's houses is erected on an unusually small base.

spirit house: the spirit-house of Raigumen is apparently nothing more than a leaf roof, set on the ground. It rose on a somewhat remote spot, which was kept neat and clean. Raigumen's tomb is in the immediate vicinity. [137]

there are no chicken coops, as the animals sleep in the open.

The parts of the house are:
post súre (number 1 of Fig. 225).
central post ńaláwer (no. 2); like the other two central pillars, it bears the ridge pole, and it is just like them.
diagonal beams of the length darielab (no. 3); they rest on the posts; cross beams of the gable walls kódom (no. 4);
The roof beams are thick, and are cut polygonally in a transverse section; they are lashed to the diagonal beams which run longitudinally; slender horizontal purlins (kabáń-ak) rest on these, then come thin vertical roof rafters (káto), and on top of them lie the roof mats (jáso). The placing of the beams under the wall is called koráadjo. [138]
The roof (béigilím) is supported by the ridge pole (úń). The walls of the rectangular house interior (ním) are vertical planks, which are framed. The gable walls are likewise made of boards; from the level of the roof they slope outward for a little way, and then they run horizontally forming a sort of roof for the veranda. This horizontal [139] piece makes a deep space for storage; for example, a boat lay under it in one house. Beneath this veranda roof of planks is a trellis (nibíń) to keep things.

a) The "large house" (fāl) is the canoe-house, and it is also the real living and sleeping quarters for the men. The supporting pillars are trunks, which have been stripped of their bark and are rough hewn. The house is open on all sides, but the wind side may be hung with mats or palm fronds as they are needed. [184] The exterior seems very crude, and the interior does not look at all comfortable, with its heterogeneous collection of tools (nets, weirs, baskets, ropes, shells, etc.) on the posts and walls, and with its dirty mats on the floor, which are covered by mosquito nets spread on spears.

Parts of the roof framework (side view, Fig. 268) [VMM: See 2: Damm et al. 185).

1. uŋarūx, 2. uūŋ, 3. bxuōt, 4. xāt 5. uōl 6. gapaŋāx, eāxth is roof mat. The scaffolding of the roof rests on the corner posts, but it is not fastened to them in any way. Fig. 269 [VMM: See 2 Damm et al. 184] shows the frame work from below, with the following parts: 1. lali erū 2. gōl i tjām 3. and 4. dari e lāpe 5. tīf 6. wāi i ūp.

b) Ponijōu's spirit-house has a saddle roof and smooth gable sides; the hut is surrounded by a stone pavement.

c) cookhouse (malūm). The leaf roof (eijōl) rests on four crude posts (sura); the projecting portion is supported on both gable sides by four lighter pillars (uār etīt). Mat walls (tire) are only placed on the wind side; the fire wood lies in this

part of the hut, while the earth oven (ŭ́m) is in the middle, and the other side is intended for scraps.

d) Houses for confinement and menstrual houses (ím malipár) are just dwellings, which are smaller and less well finished. [185] In the inventory we can put weapons, the household implements that we have already mentioned, head supports (elüdü), cradles (ülóiila) made with a rectangular frame (ealó) which is strung with a string net (metád) and sleeping mats (χiági; sleeping place - nanie).

Experts (sínap) build the house, and make the canoes. On Faraulip there were three of these craftsmen in 1909. They are paid the price that they ask; usually they want food. All of the village inhabitants help with the work, and in two weeks or a month it is completed. Bread-fruit wood is the material used. The "big house" is constructed at the command of the high chief; like the large canoes, it is made by the community and belongs to the whole group.

The Canoehouses and their owners are:

fal	Owner	House
a) Faletaipu, former lot of the chief on which no one was to transgress.	Sukurang and Selābo	24a
b) Aboi (also called Eaboi and Ieloi) plate 1b and 9c, ill 53.	Bóesu	4
c) Lúgal plate 1b.	Lólit	5
d) Kulong	Faragaus	1
e) Falemara	Sukúlubo	14
f) Gatia rákēs "near the calophyllum"	Meisor	24a
g) Voriē tag or Boerieitug	Urupo	10
h) Gauárag (also called Gauosag) "spot of grudge"	Ikeséra	25
i) Falemareg		
k) [sic] Uélibugui or Uōle		30

Many of the small houses stand directly on the ground and the eaves almost touch the ground (see Figs. 50 and 51 [VMM: see source]) or on stone platforms. A storage house erected on a foundation is shown in Fig. 54 [VMM: see source]. On the other hand, coral stones are frequently scattered around the house; more rarely the houses have a stone enclosure (óror), Fig. 68 or as a low log fence (Fig. 52 [VMM: see source]). In the case of the im, the eaves of the roof are often 1-1 1/2 meters above the ground.

The hexagonal houses in Fig. 55 [VMM: see source] which are more common on Oleai and are described in that connection, often have ornamentation on their gables underneath the overhanging roof; two examples of this kind are given in Fig. 56, a and b [VMM: see source]. The designs of the ornaments are fish, lozenges, sharks' teeth, etc. Details of arrangement are given in the section dealing with Oleai. One might be inclined to assume that [87] we have here an instance of borrowing from Oleai, if it were not for the love of decoration which may be observed elsewhere, e. g. on the canoe-house Aboi; Elisabeth Krämer has made a water color painting of the latter (Color Plate 2 [VMM: see source]) in order to convey the correct impression. The ornamentation which decorated the inner sides of the beams of the framework and the rafters is rendered in detail in Fig 57 [VMM: see source]. We did not observe anything similar on Oleai, nor did we see on the latter island the beautifully decorated looms which were shown in the chapter on weaving. [89]

Types of Houses.

fal lap	"large houses," probably a sort of temple
fal	the canoe-house, house for visitors
im	the living-house
meripann aie, imepō	the storehouse (planks in Fig. 51 [VMM: see
malimes, malum	the cookhouse (hearth--nim, lim) source]
fëlang	for the place of fire, reminiscent of the
im ali pel and im fatiu	the menstrual hut falág (1009 Krämer 221)
imareipel	house for pregnant women
imutamái	birthhut
imaligat	house for the child (Sëtoval: im alipel)
imalifam and im ale gogóbong	
im ali bólebol	house of magic

[ER: A list of the parts of houses is omitted here.]

Types of Houses

fal'lap (fan'nap)	bachelor's quarters
falĕoă	canoe-house (Born: small canoe-shed, thapal)
fal eonnap	see Tagaulap
im	dwelling (imai, . . . om, . . . al, . . . adj,) (Born: im molut; house of wooden planks im pap)
malum	cooking house (Born: malam)
im alipel	birth hut (also called imateing)(Born: im mellipel)
im ali gogobong	ten-night house
im ali fám	birthhut named after fam, birth.
im melagobung	menstrual hut (Born)
imobŏ	sleeping hut on piles (Figure 116) [VMM: see source] named after the floor, bŏ
imepó, fannĕ	storage house(formerly there were many houses of this type, but now there are few)
im motscho	coconut storehouse (Born).

6: Senfft--56-57
116, 343

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

There is a cookhouse by the dwelling. This consists of a simple hut, open on two or three sides, without gables.

The canoe sheds are used as assembly halls. Since the canoes are large, these are from 15 to 20 meters long and equally high. The gable is pointed and rests on large buttresses in the center. The roof is made of leaves and is supported by short, strong posts along the sides; it almost touches the ground. The narrow walls are left open. The boards and beams of the houses also are not grooved or nailed together; they are simply lashed with rope. The men often sleep in these sheds, since they are nearer the beach and therefore more airy than the dwellings in the bushes.

The so-called "bloodhouses" are the fourth type of houses. Here the women stay during their menstrual period. These are erected at some distance from the main dwellings; they are still lower and [57] are built with even less care than the others. There is no adjoining room such as may be seen in the regular houses.

The other type of community house, faloa, is used during the daytime, and serves as a place for work. There are three or four of these on each island, except for Tagaulap and Marijong, which have only one. These houses are nothing more than large, open halls without front or side walls. A sloping roof which nearly touches the ground takes the place of the side walls. The front and back are open. Here most of the canoes owned by the people of the surrounding villages are kept, both the large canoes used for deep sea sailing and the smaller craft which is not used very much today, as well as sails, nets, and weir-baskets. During the day the men build or repair canoes in this house, or they plait weir baskets or make nets. This is also the place where the fish caught on a common fishing expedition are distributed among the individuals....

The house for menstruating women, im-mel-jagobung are not isolated and far removed from the dwellings as are those on Jap. They are situated within the village. The houses for women in labor and for women lately confined, im-mellipel, are built anew for each individual case; these are situated as far as possible from the village, mostly on the beach.

There are also a few storage houses for coconuts, im-motscho, made of wood from breadfruit trees. These have a very solid build and have a more attractive appearance than most of the dwelling houses. They are scattered among the bushes. Recently the natives have erected small sheds for the canoes, (thapal, a term which in the language of Jap means house for menstruating women), but these consist of plain rectangular huts,

covered with leaves; they do not resemble the complex structure used for the same purpose on Jap.

"LAMOTREK GODS

Aliu-Lap. The Creator or Supreme Being.

Luk-e-lang; Olevat. His sons--presiding over the work of carpenters and boat-makers

Semili-goror. The wife of Aliu-Lap.

Selang. Her brother.

Saulal. The Prince of Evil.

Alis-i-tet, also called Toutop. The Lamotrek Neptune and God of Fishes, called in Satawal Aliu-sat or Ponnorol."

28: Spiro--6 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Wŏleaïans
116, 343 Ifalik

"The malum is constructed like an im except that it has no walls, the absence of which permits the smoke to escape.

The menstrual hut is similar to the im, except in size. It is occupied by the women only for the duration of their menstrual period, and though her children may sleep in the hut with her, it is not required to be as large as the im."

"At the end of this festivity [WPM: see p. 119], the girl retires to the menstrual hut, always the one of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the entire group of women, who parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning in order to perform her morning ablutions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is re-painted with the red paint. No male, of course, is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day, and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returned to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the grass and branch skirt.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor [121] stigma attached to it, no attempt made to hide it. At the same time the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now almost ready for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, and remains in it till its end (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she even leave the confines of her own courtyard,

except for bathing and excretory purposes. Except for her husband and sons, no male is allowed in the menstrual hut.

However, should they or a woman, have eaten fish, they are not permitted to enter for that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimera and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, and her 18 month old daughter was playing near by. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar interrupted our conversation at least every two minutes, to admonish the daughter with a loud, 'etap,' taboo. The daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman, herself, may not eat fresh fish, and she remains subject to the taboo until she has gone to the taro patch on four separate occasions.

The menstrual woman may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not eat from the food prepared for the household, but must prepare her own food, in separate utensils, and over a separate fire, the house-fire being taboo. Her hasband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. Sexual intercourse is completely taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject for conversation, so that it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no sense of

shame or secrecy of any kind attached to it. Every one knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state matter-of-factly that she was menstruating, and I could find her in the menstrual hut.

At the end of her period, the woman must bathe thoroughly, after which she resumes her normal routine."

28: Spiro--145 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 343 Ifalik

"Food is seldom eaten in the house itself. It is prepared in the malum, the cookshed, and eaten outside the house. Only on a cold or rainy day will it be eaten inside. The natives explain their outdoor eating by claiming that this keeps scraps of food from remaining in the house. Whether there is a deeper psychological significance, I do not know."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby